1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301 Ifalik

"Young coconut leaves, before they open out, are prized for their color, which ranges from ivory to pale greenish yellow. Ornaments for the ankles, wrists, upper arms, neck and head, and bandoliers slung over one shoulder, are made of this nearly white young leaf (ubwut). There are many ways of tying the leaf to make the pointed ends stick out attractively. It may also be cut into zigzag or lacy patterns.

A man will put on a bit of this leaf when he turns out for any communal task, such as repairing a canoe-house. It appears in greatest profusion on men adorned for the dance. Women are not forbidden to wear it, but it is rarely seen on them. On Ifalik it is the males who wear the bright plumage."

1: Burrows--42 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301 Ifalik

"The fragrant petals of the pandanus flower, fastened together so that their pointed ends project like a crown, form a particularly effective garland for the head."

1: Burrows--83A
116, 231, 301, 227

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A necklace made of dogs' teeth is shown in one of Damm's illustrations. These are not now common; I saw none. About the only part of a domestic animal that is in common use, except for food, is feathers. A rooster's long tail feathers effectively top off a male dancer's head-dress. Tufts of smaller feathers are lashed to fish hooks for a lure. None of these uses of domestic animals involves any noteworthy development of technology."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 301 Ifalik

"Shell, both of turtles and molluscs, is cut into various ornaments: bracelets, ear-rings, pendants, necklaces, and little chains hung from holes in the ear-lobes. The Hamburg expedition collected a considerable variety of these, some of them no longer common. Disc-shaped beads in contrasting colors--white from trumpet shell, dark brown from tortoise shell--form necklaces and women's belts. A simple bow drill, nowadays tipped with steel, is used to perforate the shell. The discs are cut out by twirling between the hands a long-handled steel gouge. The belts are made of four to six strands of beads, the white shell forming a variety of rectilinear patterns against the background of dark turtle-shell. Most of the belts worn on Ifalik come from Eaurupik, which makes a specialty of this craft."

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301, 431, 422 Ifalik

"Flower garlands, for the brief duration of their beauty or fragrance, follow a somewhat special pattern. A large part of the total is made for offering to the gods. Others are made for wearing by the maker. Still others are made by women for men, whether sons, husbands, or lovers. An offering of a garland to another is a common friendly gesture. As guests of the island, we received them almost daily. But there are limits to the giving even of a garland. In one of the love songs collected, a woman complains bitterly that her lover has given the flowers she made for him to another woman."

2: Damm et al. --17 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Ifaluk

Wooden combs (lõuwá) are favorite adornments for the hair; they are made of little sticks, which are pegged or fastened together [AN: see drawings 10-12 in source]. For dances they are also decorated with feathers.

2: Damm et al. --17-20 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 301 Ifaluk

The customary ear adornment (djûerú) consists of little coconut rings (darak) and of conus shell rings (madj: Hellwig: märće). Drawings 13-18, 25-27 show the multiplicity of the forms and arrangement of the rings. One piece (drawing 20) shows a combination with the precious fáubóbo decoration. Men and women do not wear the same kind of ear adornments. Men [18] have numerous little coconut rings strung like beads into dangling pendants; the women, on the öther hand, use larger coconut rings and white sea-shells; they are hung together like chains, and occasionally some tortoise-shell rings are added too; these also appear singly. Then there are even more unusual arrangements:

1. maregís (also unulánî) decoration (see drawing 35); formerly it had two Tridacna pearls attached to a tortoise-shell hoop; European glass beads are used today. (drawing 36)
2. sarún: spindle-shaped decoration for men, made of coconut and shell rings, arranged in various ways (see drawings 28-30). Most of them also have little chains, with spondylus disks attached.
3. legasirá consists of white shell and little black coconut sticks, which are arranged in rows on a coconut string. (see drawing 32) [20]
4. wódj is an old-fashioned triangular decoration for men, made of tortoise-shell; it is seldom used today. (drawing 33).

5. Men wear the wheel-shaped tortoise-shell decoration, that comes from Polowat; but it in no wise shows the variety of forms, that are found on that island. (see drawings 38-40)
6. fáu bóbo (also fáu djuerű) is a triangular little piece of spondylus (fáu is spondylus), which is generally attached to a little chain of shell and coconut disks, fastened to a ring of tortoise shell, and then attached to the lobe of the ear. (see drawings 19-23). Drawing 21 shows glass beads already in use.
7. Drawing 31 is a masculine adornment without any particular name; it consists of a small chain of sea-shell and coconut rings, with their ends held together by means of a strong spondylus disk.
8. Drawing 37 shows a unique type of ear pendant; a piece of tortoise-shell with white glass beads is hung from a coconut ring.

2: Damm et al. --20 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Ifaluk

Nose decoration (djūeru-wṓt). The septum is pierced with a fish-bone, and fragrant flowers are placed in the opening; the blossom of the waróń is the most popular.

There are many types of decoration for the neck. Necklaces, which seldom have two strands, (mălamar, and măremar) are made of hibiscus threads.

1. they are combined with coconut rings in various arrangements; this is called biligŏlu (drawing 41); similar pieces are in the Berlin Museum.
2. with large coconut rings, which are carefully arranged in rows; dajebă (drawing 42)
3. of smaller coconut rings: dărak (drawing 43)
4. of shell rings: bŭl, but generally these are mixed with coconut rings, (drawings 44-49); often the edges of the small rings or disks are not smooth, but sharpened (drawing 48). These attractive chains are also worn as a loin cloth. They come from Aurepik, Sorol and Fais, and are very costly. One Ifaluk native obtained this kind of chain on Aurepik for a wooden club.
5. of fish teeth: niligŭ (drawing 50)
6. of tortoise-shell disks (drawing 51)
7. of coconut beads with a tortoise-shell fish hook attached: kabiligŏ: drawing 52 shows a spindle-shaped decoration of shell with coconut disks at each end.
8. of small white shell and black coconut disks with red spondylus disks in rows between them: fău mălamar [22] (see drawings 53, 54). This decoration was especially valuable, because the material first had to be bought on Aurepik, and then the things were fashioned on Ifaluk. When Sarfert was on the island of Ifaluk, he found that the king

had forbidden the natives to sell these decorations. He explained this by saying that this adornment belongs to the god Yanelap. It really belongs to the state, and has to be handed over for the tribute voyages to Yap. The king of Yap receives these chains. Broad rings of tortoise shell are frequently worn as pendants (see drawing 55); they are called borau. But Sarfert says that they are also used for arm decoration, and in this case they are named lārelāk.

2: Damm et al. --23 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Ifaluk

Fluted tall tortoise-shell rings are the most common kind of arm adornment [AN: see drawings 56-58 in source]; occasionally they are made of coconut (drawing 59). They are called wṓdj or dárak, according to the material used. They are frequently turned into ear rings. During the wṓdau dance the natives wear a garālibṓu; it is a peculiar decoration of locks of hair with white säle shells. (see drawing 60).

To decorate the hips there are:

1. gídi: girdles made of white shells and black coconut disks, which are also used as necklaces.
2. dáredar: girdles made of several rows of little shell rings (bṹl) and coconut disks (dárak); they are distinguished by the little fillets of mäál shells [drawings 61-64 in source]; this is a feminine adornment. Drawing 65 portrays a type that is unique in that two spondylus beads and a glass bead are used instead of the fillets.
3. dedár: loin cloth of women's hair, like the ones on Polowat.

2: Damm et al. --40 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 321, 301, 415 Ifaluk

Coconut shells are used to fashion bowls, boxes, spoons, but above all, beads for decoration. These beads are made in the same way on Luangiua. Drawing 135 shows some crude pieces, which have been strung on a leaf nerve, and are still to be polished.

Hair adornment. 1. The natives put the ordinary Carolinian type of combs in their hair, but they are often decorated with feathers. 2. Young boys frequently wear garlands of flowers in their hair.

Ear decoration. Boys and girls pierce the ear-lobes, and widen them with tortoise-shells disks. The hanging ornaments of coconut and shells are so heavy that the ear is often pulled down to the shoulders. Hellwig says that the general term for ear decoration is šŭršu. There was as large a variety of shapes and materials as on Ifaluk. Some of them stuck tortoise-shell disks of various sizes into the holes, while others wore pendants of polished conus shells or rings. The most common ear rings were made of [122] coconut beads or disks, which were often clustered together with tortoise-shell rings. Once in a while you would see a spindle-shaped pendant, which was strung with alternate coconut disks (daxax, Hellwig) and shell plates (läan, Hellwig).

Flowers and leaves are worn in the pierced nasal septum.

The neck decoration (marremarre, Hellwig) consisted of shells, coconut disks and coconut beads, which were strung by themselves, or mixed together. Hambruch collected a specimen, and learned that it was called tarrăk; he found that the coconut rings are tarrăk ururŭ, and the shell rings pfüle. Many of the neck decorations are sold in the East; the Polowat inhabitants were glad to buy them.

The knots of leaves had magic significance.

The arm rings (Hellwig: lăxelăxe, Krämer: puósch) were made of tortoise shell (Hellwig: wŏaɣ, Krämer: uŏth); they were broad and ribbed as on Polowat and other islands; less frequently you saw arm rings of Tridacna.

Finger rings (Hellwig: xalăxalax) were of tortoise shell. The silver ring which Hellwig found on Aurepik, and which he later traced to Faraulip, is made just like the native rings, despite the foreign material.

2: Damm et al. --161 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Faraulep

For ear decoration (tsuóru) the natives put coco-(tagáx), tortoise-shell (buóxs) or shell (máts) rings in the pierced lobes of their ears; they may be single or arranged together in various fashions, as on the other islands of Micronesia.

Fragrant plants are the only decoration inserted in the pierced nasal septum.

There are necklaces of a great many varieties:

a) of coconut rings or coconut disks (as on Ifaluk, for example)
b) like a, but with white shell disks between them (compare Ifaluk)
c) of red spondylus disks with white shell and black coconut disks between them (compare Ifaluk); they are often made with several strands. The Berlin Museum has a triple chain in the Finsch Collection.

Chain pendants are unusual. Hambruch got one that was carved out of a coconut; it has the same shape as the one from Hok, that is made of Tridacna.

The natives also have the wide necklace collars (tĕo), like the ones drawn by Krämer (Inseln um Truk, 1 Hlbbd, 1935, drawing 15).

They liked best the bracelets of grooved tortoise shell (buŏxs), like the ones on Polowat; these were purchased from Truk. There were also some of [162] coconut (tagăx; compare Ifaluk) and Trochus (lagalăx). Finger rings of coconut husk have only been made recently.

4: Krämer--34-35 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Lamotrek

The natives wear flower wreaths, headbands, earrings, and necklaces of coconut rings (Hellwig: éffirre) and little slabs known as dagág or as madja, if they are made of white shell; [35] in addition they like little perforated slabs of conus shell, which are called mat and vul, and small rings of red shells, which are called faibar (faubar, Truk).

4: Krämer--34-37 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Elato

[VVM: For a discussion of ornaments worn, see 4: Kramer 34-37]

4: Krämer--35 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Lamotrek

Exaggeration in ornamentation such as is usual in the region of Truk, neither occurs on Lamotrek nor farther west; it gradually decreases in the direction of Palau, where ornamentation no longer plays any part and of which the telau, an ornament of two little balls (Palau III, page 21, illustration 12) is reminiscent. [MR: in source.]

We had occasion to see some charming flower wreaths that are worn in the hair; among them was a green and white one of premna leaves and umbels of the fragraea (a); another one was green, white and yellow and made from the white blossoms of the salt water shrub scaevola and yellow buds of the Trionfettia procumbens (b)....; here the two are represented on drawings, figure 1 [MR: see source].

A native gave me a strange head wreath. The end of half a coconut frond is bent into the shape of a circle, and small cylinders are fastened to the pinnae that are removed from the area of the leaf; the cylinders are supposed to be young breadfruit. [See source, figure 2.] Young breadfruit are very precious on all coral islands and are the objects of taboos so that it is not likely that the islanders pick them without good reason. Either we are dealing with some sort of breadfruit magic about which we could not learn anything or a branch of young fruit had broken off.

Ears: Earrings, suasua, are worn in the elongated earlobes: the ornaments may take the form of rings and little chains of coconut shell, tortoise shell and conus, but we do not find them in the same abundance in which they occur on Truk. Rings resembling watch wheels and tebau occur. The beautiful ear ornaments in Müller 25, Figure 19 do not come from Oleai but from Sovol.

Hellwig mentions various names for the ornaments: 2162 udjaudj of coconut beads and conus shell in four sections; 2194 marrigiau or madsi... with pteroceras knobs; 2199 large coconut rings called lèlle mangár (watch wheel: lèli mangál); halfmoon shaped

(=fish tail) and known by the name of pera lig; 2224 burai, 2135 boróí, which are large rings of tortoise shell (Truk: bodj) that are sometimes worn as breast ornaments; 2233 tortoise shell rings boral lágelag, which is also another name for the tortoise shell arm rings which are otherwise known as lagál; 2260 and a necklace of 80 coconut beads with a few scattered faubar; 2319 is a red cockle shell.

Necklaces are not worn very much; they are called marremarre and are made of three to seven strands of coconut beads [36] (Hellwig; 2158 billigorru); in the latter case a piece of shell (lure) is attached to one of the tying ends. Hellwig 2280-6053 remarks that it comes from Ifaluk. Also triangular pieces of faipar serve as ornaments similar to those that are worn as earrings (see Oleai-Feis). A simple necklace (Hellwig 2260-6035) has only a few coconut rings plaited into the necklace at certain intervals from one another (Hellwig: éffirre); the plaiting material is made of banana fibers.

Arm rings: see above, the section on ear ornaments. See also Plate 3b [VMM: see source]; they may be made of tortoise shell (very small ones are worn in the ears) and trochus.

In the discussion of ornaments (Fig. 79 [VMM: see source]) we might add that the species of fish mentioned with the same name occur on Truk, but that in the latter instance the fish are dolphins, but not in double form. Another feature identical with Truk is the shark tooth that is so common. But the other patterns are usually different and the same is true of the names. [41]

With the exception of those mentioned above, no interpretation is possible for the many types of ornaments given in Figure 79 [VMM: see source]. An ornamented house gable (as is known, for instance, on Palau) is called tabau and the fact of the existence of the term proves its occurrence.

4: Krämer--221 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Woleai

Lütke tells us that the women love the rings from the suckers of octopi which result when the neck is bitten off (a practice on Samoa); the ink of the octopi is used to color the rings.

4: Krämer--222 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Woleai

Ornamentation
(see photo 16 and 18) [VMM: see source].

Lütke, in 1828, observed necklaces, and arm and foot bands made of shell and mother-of-pearl. In exchange, the natives asked for glass beads. Belts of coconut shell were two fingers wide and sometimes they had the extra decoration of white shells; they proved too expensive to be acquired by trade.

Ornamentation is certainly not available in abundance; it is either scant or non-existent. Necklaces of little red slabs and of tia (mangle) which are known from Truk naturally occur also on Oleai. Gollert found a necklace of strung fish teeth, but no special finds were made. I received a single pearl, perforated and strung which turned out to be nothing but a tridacna ball. Photographs 14d and 16 [VMM: see source] show somewhat more elaborate decorations, such as a wreath of crinum blossoms which is worn on the head (cf. photo 334)[VMM: see source], a mustache and little goatee, earrings (resembling small tortoise-shell armrings) and other neck and chest ornaments, but all within a modest frame. Chief Rogiol of Tagaulap wore a comb in his hair and a wreath of strung Röhren blossoms; the ornaments he wore in his ears were rather small and his necklace was a piece of plain string. (Photo 16d [VMM: see source]). From his hair boys had made a head-dress for themselves which they used in their play and dances. The lima, the headband mentioned in Schmelts-Krause (their list of skulls and skeletons, page 383) originated on Ku and in any case is not indigenous on Oleai. Also the origin of the other ornaments is doubtful.

4: Krämer--222 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301, 353 Woleai

Hellwig shows head wreaths, úlevars, which are dried and hung up in the house as souvenirs (Kotzebue: kabulipeu).

Necklaces, márremar, of the known type (Kotzebue: maremar) are seen in Krämer. There are also necklaces, kamodj (Born: chamotsch) of red shell slabs, fēpar (Born: feipar and gau) (Hellwig: vaipar); Krämer, kamodj a djolipoi. Figure 82 [VMM: see source] represents a necklace [223] which is called gomalath (Born: chamelath) and which is made of white shell rings and coconut slabs (sagach, Born: tagag), a necklaces of coconut slabs, sagach üle maremar, is shown on Figure 83 [VMM: see source]; the same of coconut and conus slabs, Hellwig called marremarre dagag ma vul (mat). The type shown by Hellwig and in Figure 84 [VMM: see source] from Mariam was called marremarre billigaru*; the conus slabs had white vertical stripes, ladjere vul.

In order to grind rings of a somewhat larger size, square pieces of shell, dagag dibedib, with holes, vurarow, are placed on a stick (Hellwig: ira igek dagag) as in Figure 85 [VMM: see source] and are then ground into the desired shape.

A necklace with fish teeth is shown in Figure 86 [VMM: see source] (Krämer: maramar ni le gui).

Breast ornaments: the larger rings are used for intestine-like chains which are never worn except on the occasion of special festivals. Large rings of tortoise shell occur and are known as bodjaü.

*Hellwig shows a necklace of strands of coconut beads, billigorru, which an old man was able to restring completely within an hour.

4: KrÆmer--222-225 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 301 Woleai

Ear ornaments: the islanders wear ornaments nearly at all times in their earlobes which usually are not lengthened very much. Ears that are made into a larger loop are seen on photo 16 [VMM: see source for photo]. Photo 14d shows a crinum being worn (r) and the tebau ear ornaments which are known and which are not too rare on Oleai. Little beads (pearls) are made of tridacna; they are worn as earrings or are otherwise fitted into the ornaments that the natives like. [224]

Pendants, suasua, occur as on Lamotrek, and the same is true of the triangles of red faubar. At out time wheels approximately the size of a quarter and made of light tortoise shell were very popular, the puodj a dju dju or ale falu as they were called; they may be made in the most varied forms with the greatest variety of detail, but only two types are pictured here.

Hellwig shows a bent piece of marrow from a shrub varalilut; a girl was seen wearing it as an earring. Figure 88.

Hellwig shows a ring made from a rubung ivory-nut from Truk.

Among the pendants of the ears of the breast ornaments are the ceremonial fish hooks, Figure 89, which are cut from a piece of tortoise shell, Figure 90 [225] (5 1/2 centimeters, Hellwig). Hellwig calls them gau bodj. If the hook is to be used the bridge must be removed so that the point and the opening are free. Their importance can be seen from Feis, Figure 197.

Noteworthy are also the pendants of red triangles lanubodj which here appear as failiaurupeg (Feis: faliurepeg) as "stones of Aurepik" since the red shells are mainly found there (cf. Lukunor). These red shells are known as foudja (from dja, blood), and the rings of tortoise shell slabs are called bŏs. (See photo 16a).

Bracelets of tortoise shell are called puodj a lagallag, fluted, davidavi, and wide and flat, woroil; Hellwig: lagamu, lakelake. Hellwig shows an armring, djageag, of the trochus snail from Yap; Hellwig: lagelag. Also finger-rings (Hellwig: galagalag a li got) are cut from tortoise shell. Hellwig has a bracelet of hair decorated with a tigere shell. All these bear similarity to the ornaments of Truk and the same is true of a cuff of faubar and roughly cut coconut shell and trochus.

Belts are often made of hair, see also Lamotrek where they are frequently three stranded. Krämer has a djiem e dĕdĕ of hair; about 35 strands are put together in braid fashion. Hellwig: datar e djim hair belt (Born: tschiim). In Krämer's collection an object is called tagach u pöch by Elisabeth Krämer and is a coconut belt for women with meang, white buckles. Belts of coconut and shell of the type described above and represented on photo 14a are not lacking. (Born: tartar held together by white shell, mai jal). The precious belts, taral, have been mentioned; they have been imported from Aurepik, Sorol, Ngulu and Feis. Lütke at his early time learned of their special value.

6: Senfft--55
116, 301

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

On the whole, the natives wear few ornaments. The women wear the earrings and [MR: hair] wreaths, as well as bracelets, ankle bracelets and neck ornaments, all made of braided hairs and of the same material as the earrings. Ornaments made of braided hairs are sometimes worn around the hips for festive occasions. The combs are often decorated with the soft skin or the long tail feathers of a sea bird. The most highly valued ornament is a neckband made of red polished shells of the Chama pacifica shell which for the most part is introduced from the east, from Fair or Jorepik. Finally, another ornament of great importance is the pulverized, reddish orange curcuma which they rub on their bodies. This is imported from Yap and Truk.

6: Senfft--57
116, 301

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

There are no unusual ornaments, except for attractive red neck bands made of Chama shells. The other ornaments are: necklaces (tagach) made of coconut shells; the separate rings of which they are made may be as large as a nickel 20 Pfenning piece. They are polished with coconut oil and have a dull finish. There are neck bands consisting of several rows of small disks, which are attached in such a way that the fastening cannot be seen. Rings (ma'dsch) are made of shells, tortoise shell, or wood. Ear pendants in the form of chains (tagau, dschudschu) are made of the same materials. Other ear ornaments may be made of the red sections of Chama shells (jorepik: the name is derived from the island from which this shell is imported). The combs for men (makal) are decorated either with the skin of a white bird (snoir) or with long feathers (dschat).

Although the dress of the men is very simple, their ornaments are even more colorful and varied than those of the Jap natives. They often wear a wreath of fragrant white and red flowers, which they wind around an elaborately carved comb, makal. The white blossoms are taken from the Ut trees (on Jap they come from the papaya trees), the red blossoms from the Sorr trees. They wear two or three necklaces made of coconut shells cut in the shape of rings, tagag, or of small disks of Gau (chamotsch, feipar, lamoluk). There are also bracelets, worn around the wrist made of the green fronds of coconut trees, lag, or ankle bracelets made in the same way. With these, they also wear bracelets made of tortoise shell, botschall, or small disks of sea shells, chamelat. The latter come from Aurepik and Sorol; they are never made on Oleai. One very rare ornament, imported from Puluat, is a belt, worn either around the stomach or around the neck, which is made of large rings cut from coconut shells, tagag.

Besides these ornaments, the natives also use the valuable Reng (Rang) which they rub into the entire body several times, and coconut oil, loi, which they rub into their hair until it shines.

The lobes of their ears are distended so that they often reach halfway down to the shoulders. On these they wear ornaments of all kinds, from the ordinary rings of coconut shells, tschi, to the valuable Gau disks, fol Aurepik, as well as the strange pendants made of the vertebrae of sharks. Most of the natives wear their hair short, I saw only a few men who had tied their hair in a knot behind the head, following the custom of Jap.

Most of the older women also wear their hair short, but the young girls prefer curls.

The wreath as a hair ornament is also very popular among the women, and they wear it almost constantly. Sometimes they wear a fillet made of yellow fiber, marmar, instead. Their necklaces are small, and consist either of Gau disks or of rings made of coconut shells or tortoise shells. They wear numerous earrings made of rings cut of coconut or tortoise shells in all sizes. They wear bracelets made of grooved tortoise shell bent to the proper shape; sometimes, less frequently, they are made of coconut shells or disks made of sea shells strung up together. There is also the bracelet which is the favorite of the girls on Jap; this is made of the hinge of jagoiok shells. The natives of Oleaï copied this ornament and the method of making it from the Jap natives, so that the term jagoick has been taken over into the language of Oleaï.

11: Born--179-180 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
301, 531, 437 Woleai

This ornament [ML: jil, a belt worn by women] is an admirable example of Micronesian art, and shows a great deal of taste and aesthetic feeling. It is made on the islands of Ululssi, Feis, Aurepik, Ugulu, and Sorol, where the people of Oleai buy it in exchange for mats, canoes, and food. The best jil are made on Aurepik. They are about 60 to 70 centimeters long, and 4 or 5 centimeters wide; they consist of shell disks and coconut beads strung up on nine strands which are held together by ten tortoise shell buckles, pak-ele-jil. The basic pattern is always the same, with only a few slight variations in details: there are two black areas with a [180] white line through the center, three smaller areas with a black line through the center, and two white areas at each end with a black cross, which again has a white area in the center.

The value of these belts varies considerably, depending on the care with which the work has been executed and on the type of materials chosen. The most highly valued belts are those which have black beads made of tortoise shell rings. These are made on Ugulu and Aurepik. Those made on Sorol and Feis have the lowest value. Here the separate strands are shorter and they are not held together as firmly as in the other belts, and the beads are not made with as much skill and care as those on Aurepik.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

only source of supply, since no trade ship had visited the island for some months.

The captain went ashore on the final trip of the ship's launch. Most of the local population was assembled on the temple grass by the Fan Nap, all decked out with garlands in the hair and wreaths over the shoulders. I introduced the captain to Fagolier. It was a pleasure to watch the chief on such an occasion. He didn't need clothing for dignity: composed and calm, he always seemed pleased to meet the visitors, murmuring the correct phrases in Ifalukian, with no hint of the naked savage meeting civilization. Rather, the overdressed foreigners seemed awkward and out of place.

The captain photographed everyone, called in the sailors who had been wandering around, and took off. We all went down to the beach to see them go, but unhaunted by any desire to be going along. Don, of course, was terribly pleased to get his missing equipment: and I should have been pleased too, since I came to depend on that equipment for the rest of the summer.

That evening there was dancing. Ted thought at first that it was the children, but it turned out to be the young men, lined up by a bonfire, practicing for some big event that they planned presently. I popped flashbulbs at the dancers and Don and Ted watched, while the mosquitoes drained their blood away—another flaw in paradise. The scene was wild and lovely, the dark backdrop of the coconut palms fitfully lit up by the fire, the row of naked bodies trimmed with flowers and anklets and bracelets of coconut leaves, the inflected chanting, the stomping, clapping and rhythmic movement. Don learned pretty well to get the nice resonance that they produced by clapping the cupped right hand against the inside of the bent left arm.

Don got sore at me for popping flashbulbs—he said it spoiled the atmosphere, was an insult to the Ifalukians, and so forth. I suppose I felt sheepish about intruding with a camera myself—but I had thought I was doing my duty in getting a photographic record. Anyway, I took off with my camera in a huff and kept a residuum of photographic inhibition all of the rest of the summer. The camera is a curious thing that way—it takes gall or cheek or impertinence to get good pictures

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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LEFT Yaniseman, constant companion and advisor.

RIGHT Totogoeiti (Tom), navigator and interpreter.

BELOW Fagolier, the paramount chief; and Gavileisei, craftsman and canoe builder.

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[P. 64 (B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
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RIGHT Sagolimar, who often worked with us.

LEFT Causisig, navigator and canoe builder.

BELOW Toroman, the number three chief and official divider of food.

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41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal turned up at the Fan Nap ready for dancing after the day of fishing, with a garland of flowers in his hair, big lilies in the holes in his ear lobes, and a fresh green coconut skirt over his red loin-cloth. Ted had noticed the Ifalukian passion for ornament when he was there before, and this time came prepared with appropriate gifts, especially a good supply of ropes of the tinsel used for decorating Christmas trees. He got out a length of this tinsel for Bakal, who was delighted. Bakal ran his big, wooden comb through his hair several times to make it stand out stiffly (it stuck up in a great puff about three inches high anyway) and wound the tinsel around it in a double strand from the top of his head, at a rakish angle that brought it low over the right ear. A very flashy get-up for a young blade.

After two weeks on the island, we had become somewhat relaxed in this matter of male ornamentation. The people from the first would offer us maramars—garlands of flowers—for our hair, and we would accept them politely and appreciatively—and wear them sheepishly. But the sheepishness wore off rapidly. Presently I found myself expressing admiration for the effect of a wreath of velvety yellow four-o'-clocks on Don, and Don would notice the nice touch of bright red hibiscus on my black hair. Ted's beard was approaching magnificence, even at this early stage and made a fine accompaniment for flower garlands. After a while we reached the point of nailing up a mirror in the Fan Nap, so that we could arrange our garlands tastefully and appropriately before sallying forth in the morning. This process came to be known as "bakalizing" after one of its most devoted practitioners.

It was interesting to watch the process of disintegration of Western male prejudices in ourselves. The necklace given me by Tachi was one step in this process. Tachi, a boy perhaps twelve years old who lived near us, cut his foot very badly one day on a coconut shell. He came to me for help and I dressed the foot regularly every morning until the wounds had healed. Tachi, in gratitude for this doctoring, brought me a beautiful cowrie-shell necklace.

I put on the necklace doubtfully, expecting jeers from Ted and Don. But instead they both, with obvious envy, said how nice it looked! I wore it for a day and generously offered to lend it to Ted and then to Don. The loan was accepted, and for a long time I could only wear

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the